

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT

PRIVATE

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ENGLISH

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THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

FEB 15 1963

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH MEETING DOCUMENT  
COLLECTION

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,  
on Thursday, 26 April 1962, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mrs. MYRDAL

(Sweden)

## PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A.A. de WELLO-FRANCO

Mr. RODRIGUES RIBAS

Mr. T. VALLADAO

Mr. J. MENEZES

Bulgaria:

Mr. M. TARABANOV

Mr. K. CHRISTOV

Mr. N. MINTCHEV

Mr. G. GUELEV

Burma:

Mr. J. BARRINGTON

U Aye LWIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. J.E.G. HARDY

Mr. J.F.M. BELL

Mr. B.M. TAIT

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. J. HAJEK

Mr. M. ZEMLA

Mr. E. PEPICH

Mr. V. VAJNAR

Ethiopia:

Mr. P. SAHLOU

Mr. M. HAMID

Mr. A. MANDEPRO

India:

Mr. A.S. LALL

Mr. A.S. MEHTA

Mr. K.K. RAO

Mr. C.K. GAIROLA

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI  
Mr. A. CAGIATI  
Mr. C. COSTA-RIGHINI  
Mr. F. LUCIOLI OTTIERI

Mexico:

Mr. L. PADILLA NERVO  
Mr. E. CALDERON PUIG  
Miss E. AGUIRRE  
Mr. D. GONZALES

Nigeria:

Mr. A.A. ATTA  
Mr. L.C.N. OBI

Poland:

Mr. M. NASZKOWSKI  
Mr. M. BLUSZTAJN  
Mr. M. BIEN  
Mr. J. SLAWINSKI

Romania:

Mr. G. MACOVESCU  
Mr. M. MALITZA  
Mr. C. SANDRU  
Mr. E. GLASER

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL  
Baron C.H. von PLATEN  
Mr. B. FRIEDMAN  
Mr. J. PRAWITZ

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Mr. V.A. ZORIN  
Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN  
Mr. I.G. USACHEV  
Mr. V.N. ZHEREBTSOV

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

United Arab Republic:

Mr. A.F. HASSAN  
Mr. A. el-ERIAN  
Mr. M.S. AHMED  
Mr. S. ABDEL-HAMID

United Kingdom:

Mr. J.B. GODBER  
Sir Michael WRIGHT  
Mr. J.K. WRIGHT  
Mr. D.N. BRINSON

United States of America:

Mr. A.H. DEAN  
Mr. C.C. STELLE  
Mr. V. BAKER  
Mr. S.H. McINTYRE

Special Representative of the  
Secretary-General:

Mr. O. LOUTFI

Deputy to the Special Representative  
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): I declare open the twenty-eighth meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament.

Mr. DEAN (United States of America): This is a day the United States had hoped would not have to come. The resumption of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere has been undertaken by my Government with the utmost regret and the deepest reluctance. The security requirements which underlie this decision have been made clear by the President of the United States.

We are certain that the representatives at this Conference do not need to be told of the unsparing efforts we have made to achieve a safeguarded test ban agreement that would put a stop for ever to the deadly competition in the testing of nuclear weapons. This has been prevented by the adamant position of the Soviet Union which has, successively, broken the three-year informal truce on nuclear weapon testing, rejected the fruits of three and a half years of most painstaking negotiation -- reversing its own position in the process -- and, in unequivocal terms, repeated its unwillingness to accept the very principle of international verification.

In taking this position the Soviet Union has claimed it must do so to protect itself against Western "espionage". We have carefully explained why we believe this charge to be without foundation and we have repeatedly asked the Soviet Union to specify precisely the basis for its fears so that we may try to find ways to eliminate any legitimate objections the Soviet Union may have. It has failed thus far to do so.

The Soviet Union has claimed that the international control system which had been carefully worked out was no longer necessary because of new technical developments. Yet they remain silent in the face of our repeated requests to produce any new technical data or evidence available to them.

The United States believes that we must press on in this Conference in our efforts to achieve a nuclear test agreement with international safeguards and the necessary rights of inspection. When such an agreement is signed, tests can be ended with confidence. We believe that the joint memorandum of the eight new members of this Conference should be explored on an urgent basis in order to determine what possibilities for agreement it presents.

(Mr. Dean, United States)

Short of a safeguarded agreement, however, the United States cannot accept a situation where it voluntarily refrains from testing and which leaves the Soviet Union free to do as it did in September 1961 when it betrayed the hopes and expectations of mankind by launching a massive, secretly-prepared series of nuclear tests. The last year has taught us with great clarity that such a situation is not compatible with the national security requirements of the United States, and we do not propose to gamble with our security.

The United States delayed resuming nuclear tests in the atmosphere for many months after the Soviet Union broke the moratorium last September. We continued to hope that an agreement could be reached which would take nuclear weapon testing out of the arms race. We were willing to forgo a further series of tests despite the military gains made by the Soviet Union in its own series. This has not been possible and, therefore, the United States must treat the testing of nuclear weapons in the same way it approaches any other aspect of defence preparations.

It remains a prime objective of United States policy to end all nuclear weapon testing permanently and as quickly as possible. We are fully aware that the security conferred on us by the arms race is a most precarious one, and we must spare no effort of will or imagination in our search for an alternative. We firmly believe that negotiations on this matter must go forward. We will use our best efforts to see that these negotiations are continued until an agreement has been reached which will give all countries a true assurance that nuclear tests, in all environments, have in fact ended and which will not leave as dupes or victims those who are prepared to show goodwill and good faith.

I would ask that this statement be distributed as a Conference document. (1)

Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Soviet delegation proposed that a plenary meeting of the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament should be held on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests because the action of the United States has faced the Committee with an entirely new situation. Yesterday a United States nuclear bomb was exploded in the Pacific area. This explosion marks the start of a new major series of nuclear weapon tests by the United States. In taking this step the United States acted in defiance of the whole world, of all the peoples of the world who are

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

insistently demanding the discontinuance of all nuclear weapon tests and an end to the nuclear arms race. This action by the United States of America is bound to meet with the strongest condemnation from all peace-loving mankind.

By this aggressive action directed against peace the United States has not only precipitated a new nuclear arms race but is pushing the world even closer to the brink of atomic war. The inevitable consequence of this action by the United States is a further deterioration in the international situation which is already strained by tension in relations among States. There can be no doubt that the United States Government was very well aware of what the consequences of its resumption of atmospheric nuclear weapon tests would be. However, it deliberately took this step because it is motivated not by a wish to ease the international situation but, on the contrary, by a policy of kindling war hysteria and creating an atmosphere for intensifying the arms race.

The United States Government has torn off its mask with its own hands. The resumption of nuclear tests by the United States has no justification. Official United States assertions regarding the impossibility of concluding an agreement on the discontinuance of tests sound particularly hollow now that, thanks to the initiative of the non-aligned States, an initiative which has met with a positive reception from the Soviet Union, a reasonable and realistic basis is available for the conclusion of such an agreement.

The United States representative said today that the United States had hoped that an agreement could be concluded and that these hopes had not been fulfilled. For this reason the United States has gone on to conduct nuclear tests. But it is reported in today's Press that the State Department has announced that the United States has decided that the atmospheric nuclear tests will go on even if the Soviet Union now announces its willingness to accept a controlled test ban treaty. And this is in fact the case. It is not a question of the Soviet Union not having made it possible to conclude an agreement. Quite the contrary.

The explosion of a United States nuclear bomb took place before the Committee had even had time to begin a detailed examination of the compromise proposal of the eight non-aligned States (ENDC/28). These States have made great efforts to arrive at this compromise, to provide a new basis for a mutually acceptable settlement of the question of the discontinuance of nuclear tests.

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

We are grateful to them for the great efforts they have made, and the Soviet Government, which is anxious to put an end to nuclear tests and to the nuclear arms race, immediately gave a favourable answer to their proposals. The real answer of the United States and the United Kingdom to the proposals of the non-aligned States was a nuclear explosion in the Pacific Ocean, not the hypocritical words which the United States and United Kingdom representatives have uttered in this conference room.

Now everyone can see the purpose of the manoeuvres to which the United States and United Kingdom representatives resorted over the proposal of the non-aligned States. Their aim was to avoid at all costs the possibility of reaching agreement and to prevent any restrictions on the freedom of action of those military circles in the United States which have now succeeded in bringing about nuclear bomb explosions in the Pacific. They were not even prepared to do the minimum which the peoples of the whole world demanded -- not to carry out tests at least while the negotiations were in progress at Geneva.

The series of nuclear tests started yesterday by the United States is not an isolated phenomenon. It is one of the manifestations of the general course of United States policy, the purpose of which is to keep the world in a state of feverish military preparations. Those who cling to the bankrupt position-of-strength policy, those who are interested in an arms race do not need an easing of tension, an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests or an agreement on general and complete disarmament. Here in this Committee we are witnessing the application of this policy and see it reflected in the attitude which the United States delegation adopts on all questions connected with disarmament and the establishment of normal conditions in the world.

It is no accident that the United States is putting forward proposals which in no way ensure either the prohibition or the elimination of nuclear weapons. It is no accident that the United States delegation is stubbornly opposing discussion of the question of preventing further dissemination of nuclear weapons and is declining even to consider the question of establishing nuclear-free zones in various parts of the globe, although specific resolutions have been adopted on these questions by the General Assembly of the United Nations.



(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

What is the United States trying to achieve by taking up this attitude? There can be only one answer -- the Government of the United States would like to keep the threat of nuclear war hanging over the peoples of the world for ever. This policy was initiated at the time of Hiroshima when the United States counted on intimidating the peoples with nuclear weapons and on imposing its will upon them. The same object is served by the persistent refusal of the United States to agree to the dismantling of military bases -- the springboards for aggression which it has established in foreign territories. Nuclear weapons stationed at these bases are aimed at key centres in the peace-loving States. United States generals cynically state that, in order to deal a crushing blow, they must pinpoint and identify objectives for bombardment in the territory of a probable enemy. What United States diplomats call control is intended to serve as a means of identifying such objectives in the plans of the nuclear war strategists.

This is what accounts for the United States demand, made in the form of an ultimatum, for acceptance of its proposals for so-called international control and inspection over the discontinuance of nuclear tests, although this is, in fact completely unnecessary. What it has in mind is intelligence work and only intelligence work. This is why they have to all intents and purposes rejected the compromise proposal of the non-aligned States, which would make it possible to settle the question of the discontinuance of tests without installing such an espionage network.

What those need who are pursuing a policy of preparing for a new war is not the cessation of war propaganda but the psychological preparation of the population for war. They need to instil in the peoples of the world the idea that war is inevitable and that the arms race cannot be halted. This is the only possible explanation for the reluctance of the United States delegation to accept any decision which would force governments to put an end to war propaganda, to propaganda fomenting hatred among the peoples of the world, although an absolute majority of the members of the Committee has shown itself in favour of taking such a decision.

Instead of trying to co-operate with other States in attempting to reach a settlement of urgent questions, which would improve the international situation and open the way to the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, the United States is striking a new blow at the negotiations by

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

resuming its tests. The responsibility for all the consequences of such actions rests squarely with the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom. This is a responsibility they bear not only towards their own peoples, but towards the peoples of the entire world.

The Soviet Government cannot remain impassive in the face of these aggressive actions of the United States and its ally, the United Kingdom, and it has been compelled to undertake, as it has announced more than once in the past, the necessary steps to strengthen its defensive capacity and to contain the aggressive forces which are threatening peace. Furthermore, the Soviet Union also considers that it has a duty to the peoples to unmask the intrigues of the enemies of peace, of those who for their own selfish interests are whipping up the arms race and bringing the peoples of the world to the brink of war. As Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, said in his reply to Prime Minister Macmillan on 12 April 1962:

"We shall not fold our arms and wait passively; we shall bend all our efforts towards unmasking the aggressors, unmasking the people who are playing at war and juggling with the fate of the peoples". (ENDC/27, p.11)

The foreign policy of the Soviet State consistently pursues the defence and consolidation of peace. The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the banner and the guiding star of the Soviet people, aims at safeguarding peace for the peoples without armaments and without war. The Soviet Government will spare neither energy nor effort in order to achieve this aim in the interests of the life and well-being of the peoples of the world. It will wage an even more resolute struggle for general and complete disarmament and for the ending of the nuclear arms race.

We are convinced that all peace-loving peoples, all those who are interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace will redouble their efforts to prevent further dangerous developments and to put an end to the actions of the aggressive forces which are threatening peace.

The Soviet delegation believes that the Committee cannot pass over the shameful fact that the United States has taken actions which undermine the foundations of peace, and that it will indicate its attitude with regard to the new situation which these aggressive actions have brought into being.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): I call on the representative of the United States in exercise of his right of reply.

Mr. DEAN (United States of America): The statement I made this morning has been officially approved by the President of the United States and by the Secretary of State. It is an official statement of my Government

The representative of the Soviet Union referred to some purported statement that had been made in Washington. It is my information that the version of the statement quoted here by the representative of the Soviet Union is not correct.

Yesterday at the request of my co-Chairman, the representative of the Soviet Union, I agreed to a meeting this morning of the Committee of the Whole. I had in fact planned to be the first speaker in the Committee of the Whole. The representative of India requested that there be a meeting of the plenary and we were most happy to acquiesce in that suggestion (ENDC/C.1/PV.4, page 5). It seemed to us only right and proper that there should be a plenary meeting.

At the conclusion of the other statements this morning I should like to exercise my right to reply further to the representative of the Soviet Union since, during this plenary meeting, he has spoken about matters which would normally have been discussed in the Committee of the Whole. But I do not wish to detain the Committee any longer at this time.

Mr. de MELLO-FRANCO (Brazil) (translation from French): The Brazilian delegation has been instructed by its Government to make the following statement to the Conference:

When the Soviet Union carried out nuclear tests in September 1961, and on 3 March 1962 when President Kennedy announced that the United States intended to resume similar tests in the near future, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil expressed the regret and concern of the Brazilian Government.

Later, at this Disarmament Conference, the Brazilian delegation, both separately or in concert with other delegations, has made several appeals to the Governments of the nuclear Powers to settle their differences concerning the discontinuation of tests.

(Mr. de Mello-Franco, Brazil)

Brazil now learns that the United States has just set off an explosion as part of its new series of nuclear tests. In these circumstances Brazil reiterates its express disapproval of the policy now being followed in this matter by the great Powers, which it considers to be against the interests of international peace and security and contrary to the recommendations contained in resolution 1648 (XVI) of the United Nations General Assembly.

Brazil will continue to advocate the early discontinuance of tests of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): The representative of Czechoslovakia has asked to speak after representatives of the neutral countries, so I shall now call on any such representatives who may wish to speak.

Mr. HASSAN (United Arab Republic): How much I should have loved to take the floor today, not to lament over our lost hopes with a heavy heart, but to congratulate the Conference on achieving and fulfilling its objectives! Indeed it is a great pity, in fact it is a tragedy, to find ourselves after five weeks of negotiation compelled to give up all our hopes, and pushed to turn our backs on our most wishful thinking.

My delegation, which is still crusading among other members of this Conference to help in mediating between the different opinions, has heard today with great dismay and disappointment the news of the resumption of nuclear tests by the United States Government. Once again, for the second time in less than a year, the international atmosphere is overhung by atomic clouds and radioactive fallout, and once again in less than a year peaceful negotiation for the cessation of atomic tests has given way to the ruinous race in atomic weapons.

Perhaps it might be said that what has happened has happened and there is no point in crying over spilt milk. But, however true this may be, my delegation cannot help protesting. My Government's position with regard to atomic testing has never changed. We have always condemned it, and we shall continue to condemn it wherever it takes place, whenever it is conducted, and from wheresoever it may come.

(Mr. Hassan, United Arab Republic)

In September 1961 the President of the United Arab Republic deplored in the following words the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union:

"It is highly regrettable that the Government of the Soviet Union, in this atmosphere fraught with anxiety, should have found itself in a position where it decided to resume its atomic testing. The decision was a personal shock to me, as much as it was to international public opinion."

Indeed, in spite of the time which has elapsed between September 1961, when those words were spoken, and today -- I say in spite of that --, I feel that those words still fit today, exactly as they did in the past, but obviously in a different context.

They should not be understood in any special way; more explicitly, they should not be taken to under-estimate the difficulty of the problem confronting the nuclear Powers, nor to express a lack of understanding by us of the problems of national security. However, let us not forget that national security should not overshadow or override the survival, the security and the rights of the entire human race.

I hate to elaborate much along these lines, for we all know that the peoples of the world are disappointed and disillusioned today. The people, to the best of my knowledge, and beyond the smallest shadow of a doubt, do not care much about what sort of agreement we are trying to reach on the immediate stoppage of all nuclear tests.

Along with many other members of this Committee, I had occasion on 3 April and 20 April to reiterate my Government's appeal to the atomic Powers to heed the voice of humanity, to spare present and future generations the ill effects of the nuclear race. And indeed it was in accordance with these feelings and hopes that the eight non-aligned members of this Conference tabled their joint memorandum. And in fact my Government had high hopes that the joint endeavour might help spare the world all the implications of the resumption of nuclear tests.

However, if the modest endeavours of the United Arab Republic have not so far been successful in stopping the resumption of tests, and if the joint endeavour of the eight non-aligned States has not yet borne fruit, our voice will not be stilled; our efforts will go on ceaselessly with all the zeal, ingenuity and diligence at our command until the day comes when nuclear weapons are banned in all our planet.

Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (translation from French): The resumption of nuclear tests by the United States is already causing a wave of indignation throughout the world. The first reaction of public opinion in all countries can be summed up as unanimous condemnation of this new act of defiance by the United States and the United Kingdom, which mankind has every reason and right to regard as a crime against peace.

Thus, in spite of the appeals made on all sides, in spite of the appeals to reason and against all expectations, the leaders of the United States and the United Kingdom have once again set in motion the sinister machinery of atomic terror. The United States, which was responsible for the arms race that plunged the world into the nuclear nightmare after the Second World War and several times brought it to the brink of disaster, has not hesitated to start that race again.

This time, re-starting the arms race is even more monstrous, because it has been done while the Eighteen Nation Committee on Disarmament is in session -- a time when the nations had the right to expect that the work of this Conference would fulfil their hopes of an agreement that would free mankind from the nuclear terror and the danger of a new disaster.

Thus, even while we are discussing the possibilities of reaching such an agreement and amid the declarations of goodwill that are issued daily by the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom, the atomic bombs have begun to explode. Sweeping aside the hopes of the peoples at one stroke, the United States and the United Kingdom have ignored both the goodwill shown by the delegations of the socialist countries and the efforts made by the eight non-aligned nations sitting on our Committee, whereas the Soviet Union has accepted the memorandum by those nations as a basis for negotiations on the final discontinuance of nuclear tests.

It is worth while recalling here that the United States and the United Kingdom have in fact never stopped conducting nuclear tests. Underground tests are too often forgotten. The fact that a series of tests is now being made in the atmosphere once more confirms the definitely aggressive attitude of the Western Powers and explains all the difficulties that they have raised in our Committee, all their attempts to defer the discussion, to equivocate unendingly and always to raise new obstacles to an agreement. This is a manifestation of the policy of imperialist circles in the United States and certain Western countries, which aims at continuing the arms race, especially where nuclear weapons are concerned, and at dominating the world by force of arms.

(Mr. Tarabanov, Bulgaria)

We have listened more than once to the embarrassed explanations of the United States and United Kingdom representatives, to the effect that the resumption of nuclear tests is a national necessity for their countries. It would be too easy to point to all the flagrant contradictions published in the Western press on this subject and contained in the statements of more or less highly placed authorities of the Western Powers. But at a time when the winds of the Pacific have not yet dispersed the atomic mushroom, it is more than necessary to recall that it is still this policy of aggressive militarist circles in the United States and the United Kingdom that is reflected in the resumption of nuclear tests. It is this policy which has been predominant throughout the post-war period and has led the United States to formulate the doctrines of atomic monopoly and nuclear supremacy. The facts of the present-day world have clearly shown what those doctrines are worth.

The new nuclear tests in the atmosphere, which began yesterday, prove once more that American military circles and big business are unwilling to abandon this mistaken policy and follow the path of sincere negotiation and peace. By thus driving the world into an unbridled resumption of the arms race, the United States and the United Kingdom are assuming the heaviest responsibility.

The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Eighteen Nation Conference on Disarmament shares the indignation aroused in the world by the resumption of nuclear tests. At the same time, the Bulgarian delegation cannot repress its anxiety concerning the future of our discussions. It is obvious that a new situation has arisen, fraught with consequences for which the United States and the United Kingdom must bear the full responsibility.

Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Burma's position with regard to the question of nuclear weapon tests generally has been made so clear that I do not propose to restate it here. As one of the co-sponsors of the eight-nation memorandum, it had been the hope of my delegation that all tests might be suspended at least until the possibilities of agreement which we believe the memorandum contains had been fully and seriously explored. We greatly regret that this was not to be. We cannot but regard this development as a serious setback for our Conference. In this connexion I should like to take the liberty of quoting the following from a statement which I made before this Committee on 2 April last:

(Mr. Barrington, Burma)

"I do not share the view of some that this Conference is doomed to failure. Indeed, I have been moderately encouraged by the progress we have made so far, and particularly by the climate and atmosphere which has prevailed up till now. But who will deny that the going has not been easy, and this at a time when we have been dealing with generalities and matters of procedure? Would anyone deny that the main obstacles still all lie ahead and that we will all need a helpful climate and atmosphere if we are to have any chance of success in overcoming them? Would such an atmosphere be engendered by a series of nuclear explosions spread over a period of weeks and possibly of months? And even if we who are assembled in Geneva could take a pragmatic view of this paradoxical situation, would the outside world understand? Indeed, would they even hear us against the reverberating echoes of the nuclear tests?" (ENDC/PV.13, page 6).

It is our hope that the fears expressed then will, in the interests of the whole of mankind, not be realized. For our part, we shall continue to do all we can to reach the objectives which we all seek here, but it would serve no useful purpose for us to pretend that our already heavy tasks have not become heavier today.

Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (translation from French): The Polish delegation has learnt with deep indignation of the resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere by the United States. We have already drawn attention, in our statement of 12 April (ENDC/PV.19, page 24), to the heavy responsibility the United States Government would incur if it resumed nuclear tests. At that time, however, we expressed the hope that good sense and goodwill would prevail and that the United States would consider the wishes of the peoples and the interests of our Conference. It is clear that the question of the discontinuance of nuclear tests looms large in the negotiations on disarmament. The representative of the non-aligned countries on this Committee are well aware of this; they have spared no effort to break the deadlock in the negotiations between the three nuclear Powers. The joint memorandum submitted by the eight States on 16 April is evidence of that.



(Mr. Naszkowski, Poland)

In this connexion, we shall recall the statement made by the President of the United States on 2 March 1962 (ENDC/13). Attempting to justify the resumption of nuclear tests by his country, President Kennedy nevertheless stated that the ultimate aim of the United States was not to carry out tests. Consequently, he made the United States decision on the resumption of tests depend on the attitude adopted by the leaders of the Soviet Union in the weeks to come. What happened? The Soviet Union adopted a new approach to this question. By accepting the memorandum of the eight non-aligned States as a basis for future negotiations, the Soviet Union took a positive attitude towards the proposals of the non-aligned States. As compared with its previous proposals that was a compromise on the part of the Soviet Union.

It should also be remembered that the delegation of the United States and the United Kingdom likewise expressed their willingness to accept the memorandum of the eight non-aligned States as a basis for discussion of the prohibition of nuclear tests, though they did so reluctantly and with various reservations.

So, as a result of the constructive efforts of the non-aligned States and the conciliatory attitude of the Soviet Union, a new chance of reaching agreement had appeared. But this chance has been gravely prejudiced by the resumption of nuclear tests by the United States.

There is only one conclusion to be drawn from that action: that the United States has no interest whatever in concluding an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear tests, but wishes to perfect its nuclear weapons and thus to intensify the arms race, which is such a danger to peace. It is on the United States Government that the heavy responsibility for the new and dangerous increase in international tension must fall. None of the statements made here about its alleged desire to reach an agreement can conceal that responsibility. On the contrary, we know that the United States was in a hurry to take its decision. Not only did it reject all idea of a moratorium for the duration of the disarmament negotiations in Geneva -- an idea put forward by the Government of India -- but it would not even wait for the opening of negotiations in the three-Power Sub-Committee on the basis of the new proposal by the non-aligned States. The thunder of the nuclear bombs at Christmas Island will have an ominous echo for the peoples of the world, particularly the Polish people, who are so devoted to peace. The nations placed great hopes in the new phase of the Geneva negotiations on general disarmament, but also in the measures that could be put into effect immediately, which undoubtedly include the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

(Mr. Naszkowski, Poland)

By beginning a new series of dangerous tests for the improvement of nuclear weapons, the United States Government has dealt those hopes a severe blow. It is difficult not to see a connexion between the United States decision to resume nuclear tests and its negative attitude towards concrete disarmament measures and measures that would facilitate disarmament, such as the establishment of denuclearized zones. All this is bound to cause us disappointment, deep anxiety and concern for the chances of progress in the disarmament negotiations.

Mr. SAHLOU (Ethiopia): It was with a deep sense of regret that we learned yesterday of the resumption of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere by the United States. Our regret has been all the greater because it was our ardent prayer that, at least until the outcome of our deliberations here, under the auspices of the United Nations, mankind would be spared the frustrations of the hopes that it must have placed in us, particularly in view of the joint memorandum submitted quite recently by the eight neutral delegations.

In this connexion, may I take this opportunity to reiterate the position of my Government with regard to nuclear tests? We in Ethiopia are opposed to all nuclear tests by any nation or nations, in any environment and at any time, because it is our considered view that the further resumption of nuclear tests, in addition to the hazard to the health of mankind resulting from radioactive fallout, not only is contrary to the purpose for which we are all gathered here, but can only serve the progress of armaments. We believe that, to say the least, such progress increases neither security nor the prospects of peace, but only the stark deadliness of weapons of mass destruction, and the danger of war.

The decision by the United States to resume nuclear weapon tests is most unfortunate, and we appeal to the United States to put an end to these tests even at this late hour.

Mr. MACOVESCU (Romania): The Romanian delegation has been sincerely impressed by the feelings of profound anxiety, deep regret and condemnation manifested in various ways during this meeting because the United States and the United Kingdom are conducting nuclear weapon tests in the Pacific. We are well aware that the declarations made at today's meeting reflect the large wave of disapproval manifested by world public opinion. These tests arouse general anxiety, they worsen international relations, they speed up the arms race and they increase tension among States, thereby seriously threatening the peace and security of the world.

(Mr. Macovescu, Romania)

For over a month now, since we started the proceedings of this Conference, all peoples have looked at our work with the hope that the negotiations on general and complete disarmament might also bring about the cessation of nuclear weapon tests once and for all.

New conditions existed for taking this problem out of the deadlock into which it had been pushed by the United States and the United Kingdom through their negative and rigid stand, which lacked any reasonable basis. The eight non-aligned States members of this Conference presented a joint memorandum setting out a new starting point and a new basis for discussion with a view to arriving at a nuclear test ban treaty. The Soviet Union accepted this basis and compromise, and the members of the Conference were waiting for the United States and the United Kingdom to take a corresponding attitude in this new situation. Just one thing prevented us from achieving an understanding, namely the lack of desire of the United States and United Kingdom Governments to achieve this agreement and their determination to start tests in any event and without delay. The appeals that were made at this Conference that tests should not be renewed during the proceedings of the Conference, or at least as long as the joint memorandum of the eight neutralist States was being considered, met with a wall of indifference and lack of consideration of the will of all peoples.

During the last week alone we have listened to all kinds of arguments designed to create the illusion that the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom had at heart the conclusion of an agreement. Members will certainly recall that the ideas contained in the joint memorandum of the eight Powers were received by the delegations of the Western nuclear Powers with reservations and certain qualifications. Members will recall the statements on semantics that have been made here while preparations continued in the Pacific for carrying out an action that had been irrevocably decided upon. The detonations on Christmas Island not only deal a blow at the hopes of millions of people but also have a serious influence upon this Conference.

At the opening of this Conference the head of the United States delegation said:

"What is required most urgently is to stop the nuclear arms race.

All of us recognize that this moment is critical. We are here

because we share the conviction that the arms race is dangerous and

that every tool of statecraft must be used to end it." (ENDC/PV.2, page 17)

(Mr. Macovescu, Romania)

He also spoke about the need to arrest the spiral of competition in armaments. What are we now to believe: the words of the United States Secretary of State, or the events taking place on Christmas Island?

A few days ago Mr. I.G. Maurer, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Romanian People's Republic, stated that:

"It is clear that the intention of the United States and the United Kingdom Governments to renew nuclear weapon tests is in flagrant contradiction to the interests of consolidating peace and good understanding among peoples."

The Romanian delegation considers that the renewal of tests by the United States and United Kingdom Governments is an aggressive act of particular gravity and of a nature to intensify the arms race and increase tension in the relations among States. It also constitutes a serious obstacle in the path of our negotiations.

All through the proceedings of the Conference we have asked the delegations of the Western nuclear Powers to begin constructive negotiations and to refrain from conducting nuclear weapon tests, at least during these negotiations. This is clearly what the eight non-aligned countries had at heart. This is what was requested by the five socialist States present here. This was, and continues to be, the ardent wish of all the peoples of the world. All depended on the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom. Now the responsibility for the consequences affecting international relations in general and our work in particular will be entirely theirs.

Mr. CAVALLETTI (Italy) (translation from French): My delegation has listened with the closest attention to the statements made this morning on the event which the Conference is now considering.

The United States decided to resume tests when it had become certain that no other choice was possible. For three years we had a moratorium on tests in the atmosphere, and negotiations were carried on here at Geneva with a view to turning that de facto moratorium into something stable -- into a treaty with an international guarantee.

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

For three years the Governments of the nuclear Powers seemed convinced that their respective strengths were sufficient to deter any aggression by the other side. For three years detailed discussions took place. One point seemed clear: that there was a common basis for these discussions, a basis which neither side called in question, a basis which constituted a kind of common technical language. As we all know, that basis was the report of the Conference of Experts (EXP/NUC/28) a technical body with equal representation of the countries concerned, which enunciated a number of common principles.

Let me say today quite plainly that my Government, which anxiously followed the course of the Conference on the discontinuance of nuclear tests and the subsequent proceedings, had the strongest desire that the negotiations should succeed and that there should be no resumption of nuclear tests by anyone. It is necessary to recall this today, at the risk of repeating facts which are only too well known to everyone. We also followed with great hopes the generous efforts made here by the eight delegations which submitted a memorandum with a view to reaching an agreement on tests.

Only yesterday my delegation made a specific proposal for the practical application of their memorandum, if that is possible, by having it examined by a group of scientists. All that is the unquestionable truth; but unfortunately the outstanding characteristic of the Soviet Government is its ability to forget with astonishing rapidity certain facts which might be detrimental to its arguments.

Last autumn the Soviet Government decided unilaterally to resume tests, and at first the people of the Soviet Union were not even informed of the fact through their Press. Why did the Soviet Union decide, after three years of moratorium, to resume this nuclear arms race? Why did it suddenly decide that the balance which seemed to have been established was no longer satisfactory? I do not know the answer. All I know is that this fatal Soviet decision, taken while negotiations were still proceeding and had not by any means broken down, compelled the NATO countries to look seriously to their defences.

We have all been witnesses in this room of the fact that the Soviet delegation was unwilling to give adequate guarantees for an agreement on the duly verified discontinuance of tests, and that it appeared to repudiate the very basis of the report which its own experts helped to draft in 1958 -- without moreover, giving us any reasons. We have also seen the Soviet Union's insistence on classing all

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

international control measures as espionage, although we ourselves have often urged that this technical problem should be thoroughly studied in restricted committees.

As we have already stated, we are opposed to tests. We are a peaceful people which has nothing whatever to gain, but everything to lose by an arms race. But we are also a free people and we mean to remain free. We are determined to defend our freedom and our security. In all sincerity, in all honesty, we are convinced that what has happened today was brought about by very precise causes, for which the Soviet Union is solely responsible.

At the present moment, faced with the recriminations and the vague threats we have heard this morning, the Italian delegation's position is perfectly clear. Italy wishes to give its people peace with security. We, the free peoples of the West, have no aggressive intentions towards anyone. That was solemnly affirmed by my Minister for Foreign Affairs in the two statements he made to the Conference on 16 March and the Committee of the Whole 28 March 1962. So long as disarmament has not been carried out, it is our duty to provide the means for our defence. We have never spared in the past, and shall never spare in the future, any possible effort to reach agreement. Such agreement will not be possible, however, so long as all our proposals are regarded by our communist colleagues as dangerous imperialist manoeuvres, whereas all the proposals of the communist countries are, they assert, the expression of the veriest good faith and angelic goodness.

For the discontinuance of tests we have asked for only one thing here, but it is something essential to any agreement: that mutual good faith be demonstrated by concrete acts, namely, control worthy of the name. For nearly a month and a half we have tried by every means to obtain an affirmative reply, but we have never received it. In these circumstances, it is only too evident that the West could not forbear to maintain its defences at a time when a recent series of nuclear test explosions of unparalleled power and deadly consequences without precedent had surprised the countries of the Atlantic Alliance, which were complying with the moratorium both sides had agreed to observe. The United States has had to bow to a sad necessity today, in order to guarantee the security of the free world. I say that, not because I approve or advocate the balance of terror, but solely because I give way to an unfortunate necessity. I repeat that it is a sad

(Mr. Cavalletti, Italy)

necessity to which we give way. We earnestly hope that this necessity may be removed -- that we here at Geneva may abolish it forever by complete and controlled disarmament.

In spite of failures, our will remains firm and our constancy unshakeable. Our task here is one of long duration. From the beginning, the Italian Government has maintained, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, that we should sit uninterruptedly in order to reach a complete solution of our problems. After a month and a half of work, we have come close to a solution in some sectors; in others we are unfortunately still a long way off.

For our part, with unshakeable faith, we are still pursuing the same goal: a world without arms and at peace, governed by law and not by violence. Our determination is firm. It conforms to the desires and needs of the Italian people and, I am sure, to the desires and needs of all the peoples of the world.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): I should now like to make a few remarks as representative of Sweden.

This is a moment fraught with great significance, and the Swedish delegation cannot allow it to pass in silence. It is, however, hard to find new expressions for the reaction caused by the resumption of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere. For our part, we have the honour to submit the following statement issued by the Swedish Prime Minister yesterday, 25 April:

"When through its action today the United States proceeds with its signified intention of resuming testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, this information must be received with regret. The communication has confirmed the apprehensions voiced in the Swedish Government statement in the Riksdag debate on foreign affairs of 14 March, in which it was declared that it would be regrettable if the abolition by the Soviet Union of the three-year testing moratorium through its series of tests last autumn proved to be the opening of an unchecked armaments race in respect of nuclear weapons.

"In the course of the disarmament negotiations now going on at Geneva serious attempts have been made -- not least on the part of the militarily neutral States -- to find a basis for an agreement between the nuclear Powers on the abolition of the nuclear weapon

(The Chairman, Sweden)

tests under the necessary control. The Swedish Government, which has made considerable efforts with this aim in view, had entertained the hope that the viewpoints presented by the neutral nations on 16 April would have led to serious negotiations and to agreements, by means of which it would have been possible to avoid new tests.

"In the situation which has now arisen the Swedish Government still deems it desirable that the Conference at Geneva continue the efforts enjoined upon it by the General Assembly of the United Nations to find an acceptable basis for an agreement on the abolition of nuclear weapon tests as one of the first steps on the road to disarmament."

Mr. HAJEK (Czechoslovakia): There is no doubt that the majority of the members of this Conference, as well as the overwhelming majority of mankind, feel deeply and understand that the nuclear test explosions in the atmosphere begun yesterday by the Government of the United States, with the support of the Government of the United Kingdom, are heavy blows to the cause of world peace, to the interests of humanity, to the will of the peoples of the world and to the principles of the United Nations Charter. In fact they constitute unilateral action which has nothing in common with the real security of those countries which are conducting the explosions, and there are no reasons which could justify them. They are directed against endeavours to ease international tension and replace methods of force and threat by negotiation and peaceful coexistence. They will lead, and are undoubtedly intended to lead, to wider mistrust in the relations between States and to an increase in international tension. They are aimed at frustrating efforts to solve the most urgent problem of today -- that of general and complete disarmament. They give a new impetus to the nuclear arms race. They lessen the possibility of achieving a solution to the problem of the cessation of nuclear weapon tests itself -- a matter which, as we in this room are all aware, is of great concern to all the peoples of the world. Finally, they create unfavourable conditions for the further work of this Eighteen Nation Committee.

Indeed, since the beginning of the work of this Conference the United States nuclear explosions in the atmosphere have cast a dark and fateful shadow, which has been hanging over us throughout our deliberations. As soon as these tests



(Mr. Hajek, Czechoslovakia)

were announced, on the eve of the opening of the Geneva talks, they were justly described by many speakers as undermining the efforts of this important international body, to which the nations of the world have looked, and are still looking, with so many expectations and hopes.

The announcement by the United States of its intention to carry out tests in April in fact placed this Conference under gross and inadmissible pressure from the beginning of its work. The decision of the United States Government to carry out atmospheric tests at the very time of the Committee's session prejudiced our talks considerably in advance, and most of the delegations to this Committee have, on behalf of their respective Governments and peoples and of all mankind, rejected and condemned this pressure. And it was not only in this room that we heard the indignant voice of the conscience of nations and of humanity as a whole. All the delegations here receive visits every day from many people from countries all over the world; and they get letters and messages from individuals, organizations and the spokesmen of various movements from all countries. The call for the cessation of nuclear tests occupies a foremost place in all such demands and appeals. But the United States Government has turned a deaf ear to all such protests, appeals and demands.

The debates in our Conference and the talks in the three-Power Sub-Committee have proved that the arguments with which the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom have tried to justify this flagrant pressure are untenable; therefore the expressions of pretended United States regret and reluctance which we have heard this morning will not deceive anybody in this room. Nor is the attempt by the representative of Italy to justify the aggressive action of the United States by distorting the proposals and the whole policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist States likely to deceive anybody who has followed our deliberations.

The arguments invoking scientific and technical reasons and insisting on an international system of inspection as a prerequisite for the cessation of atomic tests have been revealed as empty. It is common knowledge in the broadest sectors of world public opinion -- an illustration of this is to be found in an editorial appearing today in the serious bourgeois paper Le Monde -- that explosions of all types, and atmospheric explosions in particular, are quite reliably detectable by means of national detection systems; and all tests carried out

(Mr. Hajek, Czechoslovakia)

since 1945 have in fact been reliably detected in this way. This fully confirms the position held by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries that the international system of inspection pressed for by the Western Powers is completely unnecessary and in practice may serve primarily as espionage against peace-loving countries which neither intend to bring about nor are preparing for an atomic war.

It was exactly this generally-recognized fact that led the delegations of the eight non-aligned countries members of our Committee, in an honest attempt to overcome the impasse, to submit their proposal aimed at meeting both positions. All of us in this Committee welcomed this noble and important initiative. The proposal in fact created a new basis since it was a compromise between the position held by the United States and the position held by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, striving to achieve a real and speedy solution to this urgent question, agreed to adopt the draft of the eight countries "as basis" for further negotiations.

The Western Powers first tried to hide their negative, and I must say, contemptuous, approach to the draft behind a cloak of technicalities when they sought to strip the eight-nation draft of its substance by putting a number of primarily technical questions. Later, they reluctantly agreed to discuss the draft, but immediately attempted again to strip it of its very substance by what I must call their fantastic interpretation, -- that is to say, they attempted to remove its core and to smuggle in their own untenable requirements of an international system of inspection, which, as we know, in the past has stood in the way of agreement. At the same time they cynically and insultingly ignored and finally flatly rejected the earlier constructive proposal by the Government of India, supported by a decisive majority of all the States members of the Committee and willingly accepted by the Soviet Union, namely, the proposal that no nuclear tests should be carried out, at least while the negotiations were in progress, thus ensuring minimum conditions for the course of the talks and their positive outcome. And we witnessed yesterday their rejection of another -- I would say an extreme -- version of this appeal, that is to say, that they should at least abstain from carrying out tests during the period in which negotiations on the memorandum were proceeding. This appeal was made by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and submitted to this Committee by our colleague from India, Mr. Lall.

(Mr. Hajek, Czechoslovakia)

In the light of this behaviour here in the Committee -- and in particular, of course, in the light of the explosions which were started yesterday -- it is possible and even necessary to see fully the character and purpose of the proposal which was submitted by the United States delegation yesterday and which was given such publicity, namely, the invitation to some of the authors of the memorandum of the eight countries to take part in the work of the Sub-Committee for the discontinuance of nuclear tests. The representative of Italy again tried this morning to put forward this proposal which, with a certain modification, he supported yesterday as a positive approach.

My delegation sees no possibility whatever of interpreting this move in such a way. Despite all the words of praise which we heard in this Committee yesterday concerning this proposal, it is a shallow and, moreover, a completely false gesture which is a mockery of the honest effort manifested by the delegations of the eight non-aligned countries. Those who submitted this proposal to include those eight countries in the talks at the same time exerted a maximum effort to destroy the basic idea of the memorandum, its core which was the only element that could constitute the basis for further negotiations. Moreover, their aggressive act -- the tests that are being carried out by them despite all appeals, desires and protests -- renders impossible any discussion on the cessation of tests that would be realistic and would have a chance for success.

Thus at all times, from the very beginning to this fateful and sad moment, the Government of the United States, with the support of the Government of the United Kingdom, has proved by its action that it is not interested in stopping atomic tests, but on the contrary is interested in carrying them out in full by all means, at any price, against the interests and will of nations, against the indignant voice of world public opinion, against the view of an overwhelming majority of delegations on this Committee. Once again these Governments have proved that they are dominated by militant and aggressive forces whose policy is based on force and terror, a policy which has so many times suffered failure but which at the same time always increases the danger to all of humanity.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as long ago as in its first intervention in the Committee, condemned the intention of the Western Powers to conduct nuclear tests and the insolent pressure that these Governments exerted and continue to exert in this Committee. Our delegation now joins other delegations in expressing its indignation and making the most resolute protest

(Mr. Hajek, Czechoslovakia)

against the resumption by the United States Government and the United Kingdom Government of nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere. We support those who once again are appealing to the United States Government, even at this last moment, to stop further fateful steps leading towards a new aggravation of international tension and a new wave in the nuclear armaments race.

It is evident, and even necessary in the interests of nations and world peace, that faced with the further perfection and accumulation of destructive force directed against the countries of the socialist camp, these peace-loving countries are justified and forced to see to their own security and take care of a further perfection of their defensive force and equipment in all fields. However, the responsibility for the consequences falls exclusively on the United States Government and those which are supporting it. This also applies to the work of this Committee.

This unilateral aggressive act of one member country of this Committee, supported by another, constitutes a direct attack against our further efforts. First, it renders meaningless the continuation of a discussion on the conditions for a nuclear test ban. It also seriously harms the work of our Committee as a whole. It can hardly be expected that the atmosphere, contaminated physically as well as morally by the nuclear explosions, will be fruitful for a further development of talks on the problems on the agenda of this Committee. In fact, there are not many indications that positive results can be reached in the talks when the United States applies the same negative points of view and methods as they have applied in the talks on the nuclear test ban. The responsibility for paralysing the work of the Committee falls on the heads of those who have systematically obstructed its work from the very beginning.

For the Government and the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, my delegation has to stress that it will not cease its efforts to reach a real solution to the most serious question of our time -- general and complete disarmament; to eliminate methods of force and threats and to bring about the victory of the idea of the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of all nations.

Mr. LALL (India): Only two days ago Prime Minister Nehru said this with regard to the tasks of our Conference:

"I appeal to the nuclear Powers to refrain from these tests and give the Geneva Conference a full chance to reach agreement".

He went on to say:

"These tests may lead to a progressive deterioration in the atmosphere, and the possibility of actual war".

In these circumstances he expressed his great concern at the reported United States decision to resume tests.

Now the tests have actually been resumed. We meet under their unwelcome shadow. The delegation of India has today heard the statements made by the representatives of Brazil, the United Arab Republic, Burma, Ethiopia and Sweden, and it would like to place on record its agreement with the statements I have mentioned. It is a strange irony that these tests have been sited at a place which is called Christmas Island, a name which raises associations in our minds of a message of peace and goodwill. It is odd, is it not, how the destinies of men seem to conflict with even their most beneficial traditions?

I should like to say that the feeling of the delegation of India at this moment is one of deep failure of duty. We feel that we have failed in our duty. We feel that we who have joined with like-minded countries both round this table and not represented in this room and with like-minded people have grievously failed in our duty because we have been unable to carry conviction at a crucial time when this disaster was about to occur. We cannot frankly find any valid excuse at all for the situation which commenced yesterday near Christmas Island -- as we were unable, indeed, to find any excuse for what burst upon us last autumn when the Soviet Union started testing again. We are totally unable to find any valid excuse for ourselves, for our own failure to carry conviction regarding the dangers of the course of testing nuclear weapons, particularly when the representatives of nations, having been asked to do so by the United Nations, for the first time in its history and with a due sense of the seriousness of the world situation and of the urgency which already existed then, are trying to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Lall, India)

That is the situation which confronts us. We ask ourselves and all the delegations in this room: are we willing to recognize this as a failure for the cause of peace? If we are willing to admit this failure, then all of us could, we feel, agree to restrain ourselves. Indeed, if we now fail to restrain ourselves, what will be the consequences? We must pause to consider those consequences. They will be: not only heightened tension, gravely serious though that must inevitably be; not only renewed secret military preparations which would take place in a situation of already saturated preparedness for destruction and which could only undermine further what little security remains to the world; not only the draining away of hope and the burgeoning in its place of fear, which is fertile ground for the commencement of actual conflict and destruction; but also directly retaliatory measures -- in short, tests by other countries of nuclear weapons and perhaps, though at this stage one might still hope that that will not be the case, the final ending of all hope.

Regarding this aspect of the matter, on 24 April Prime Minister Nehru said:

"It seems to me common sense that, if these tests continue, both parties will make more and more powerful weapons not only to destroy the other party but also the world in the process."

What, then, I ask, does restraint mean in practical terms to our Conference today? Clearly it means the stopping of the tests which have now started and thus a return to the possibilities of negotiation. It is not too late, although it might in the future become too late, to return to serious and constructive negotiations. But this return can be made only if all of us -- not merely some of us, but all of us -- are now willing, not just in words but in action, to practise restraint. This must involve the ending of the tests now commenced and the abjuring of testing by any other State -- at least while we negotiate here, but, much better, for all time.

We feel that at this hour we have both the right and the duty to demand this action of all of us.

Mr. GODBER (United Kingdom): I have listened with sympathy to the sincere appeal which has just been made by the representative of India -- I understand the point of view which he puts forward -- just as I have listened with sympathy to the interventions on this matter today by a number of other

(Mr. Godber, United Kingdom)

representatives, particularly the representatives of the uncommitted nations, who speak I am quite sure sincerely and genuinely on behalf of their Governments.

These are difficult times for our Conference; I realize that. I must make clear the position of the United Kingdom Government at this moment, as the Government closely concerned and connected with the United States Government in the project to which reference is being made. I must say, with great respect, that I fully endorse the statement that was made by my United States colleague here this morning. I would recall the last paragraph of that statement which I think is very important in relation to the comments we have just heard.

The last paragraph says:

"It remains a prime objective of United States policy" --  
and with that I include United Kingdom policy as well --

"to end all nuclear weapon testing permanently and as quickly as possible. We are fully aware that the security conferred on us by the arms race is a most precarious one, and we must spare no effort of will or imagination in our search for an alternative. We firmly believe that negotiations on this matter must go forward. We will use our best efforts to see that these negotiations are continued until an agreement has been reached which will give all countries a true assurance that nuclear tests, in all environments, have in fact ended and which will not leave as dupes or victims those who are prepared to show good will and good faith." (ENDC/35)

That exactly expresses my own point of view in relation to this matter. The United Kingdom delegation is anxious, ready and willing to continue these negotiations to find a solution to this problem, and to get a lasting treaty which will have a lasting effect.

I have listened also to the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the other countries closely allied with the Soviet Union. I must express amazement once again that the representative of the Soviet Union chose to speak as he did. I have reminded this Conference before today that while every other nation round this table has the right to protest -- yes, the right, because we all know the seriousness of these matters -- there is one nation, and one alone, that does not have that right, and that is the Soviet Union. And why does it not have that right? We all know. We know it has not

(Mr. Godber, United Kingdom)

that right because it, and it alone, resumed testing after a lapse of three years, after a period when we were trying to get agreement -- and resumed testing unilaterally.

I said at the time that this would carry with it consequences which were inevitable. That in fact is what it has done. They resumed testing; they refused to listen to an appeal from the United Nations not to let off that 50-megaton bomb. They tore up the agreed basis of three years of negotiation. They tore up an agreed two-thirds of a treaty. They rejected over twenty compromise offers. They rejected two special proposals for stopping testing in the atmosphere. They proposed last autumn that we should discuss measures to prevent surprise attack; now, apparently, they refuse even to discuss these measures. Yet all the time the remedy has been in their own hands. We have tried from the West again and again to compromise. We will still try to find a basis on which we can make progress.

Representatives from some of the countries allied to the Soviet Union have made protests today. Did they raise their voices in protest last September? Did they raise them when the Soviet Union exploded its 50-megaton bomb? No. I deeply respect those who appeal against all testing. But those who supported prior testing by one side and then protest against testing by the other side do not, in my submission, deserve consideration from anyone else round this table or, indeed, in the world outside.

The Czechoslovak representative referred in his intervention to an editorial of what he described as a serious bourgeois paper. Who am I to interpret what a bourgeois paper is? But I have on occasion in this body listened to people quoting from various British newspapers, and I am always glad when they do so, because it is well known that in the United Kingdom we have a free and unfettered Press, many organs of which freely criticize the Government from day to day.

In case it should be thought that what I am saying today represents merely the view of the United Kingdom Government, I propose to quote from one of today's British newspapers comments on this latest position. I quote, not from one of the papers which frequently supports the present United Kingdom Government, but from a paper which consistently over the years has been known to oppose in almost every respect the policies of the United Kingdom Government. I will quote from the British Daily Mirror. I do so in order that people may see what is the genuine



(Mr. Godber, United Kingdom)

feeling in this matter, not only of the United Kingdom Government but of the people of the United Kingdom.

And what does the Daily Mirror say today? It says in its leading article:

"President Kennedy's decision to resume American H-tests in the atmosphere is a tragedy ... But the world must realize that the responsibility ... is not Kennedy's. It is Khrushchev's.

"It is exactly five months and twenty-seven days since Khrushchev exploded the biggest-ever H-bomb over the Arctic. The date was 30 October 1961.

"The Soviet leader unleashed his monster and actually bragged about it at a time when Russia, America and Britain had observed a nuclear test truce for almost three years.

"And at a time when the Russians were sitting at a table in Geneva to discuss disarmament and an end to H-tests.

"And at a time when the Soviet Government had solemnly promised that Russia would never be the first to re-start H-bomb tests.

"During the past five months and twenty-seven days, President Kennedy has delayed authorizing fresh American tests in the hope of winning an agreement to ban tests for ever.

"He has held out as long as possible in the face of very heavy pressure from his military advisers.

"At any time during the past five months and twenty-seven days Khrushchev could have stopped an American resumption of nuclear tests. He could have stopped it by agreeing to have observers in Soviet territory to supervise a test ban.

"But Khrushchev repeatedly rejected inspection.

"Maybe the Russians are genuinely afraid that inspection would be a cloak for spying. But surely, even if Russian fears were genuine, this would be a small price to pay for ridding the world of poisonous H-tests.

"It is still possible for Khrushchev to get a test ban. It is still possible for him to take this first essential step towards a world agreement on disarmament.

(Mr. Godber, United Kingdom)

"But until Khrushchev is prepared to take this step, nobody in the world today can blame Kennedy for making Western security his first consideration.

"As long as the H-bomb is the decisive factor in world diplomacy, Kennedy has a duty to keep up with the Russians."

I merely quote that to show that I am not speaking merely as the voice of the United Kingdom Government here, I am speaking for the British people. And they say that, much as they regret it, this resumption was inevitable; it flowed from the Soviet decision last September.

However, there was one point on which I would agree with what Mr. Zorin said this morning -- and there was very little in what he said that I could agree with. He said that all who are interested in maintaining peace should redouble their efforts. Well, that is our duty here, whatever has happened and whatever is likely to happen. Our duty is to redouble our efforts: to get on with the programme of general and complete disarmament and to go on seeking a test ban treaty. We must not, we cannot, accept defeat in this. We have got to go on until we find a way in which we can stop tests, and we have got to proceed with our work on general and complete disarmament. That is our duty. It is freely recognized in the speeches to which we have listened today, and I fully support it. No one will be more glad than I when we can know that we have really and effectively stopped nuclear tests for all time.

Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): The Mexican Government has repeatedly censured nuclear tests, no matter where or by what Power they are carried out. First of all, in connexion with what the United Kingdom representative has just said, I wish to cite the protest made by the Mexican delegation when the Soviet Union carried out nuclear tests. On that occasion we said we wished "that the Powers would undertake to ban nuclear tests for ever by a treaty under effective international control to which the parties were legally bound to submit." We then went on to say:

"The moral effects which the latest nuclear explosions have had on the world are as destructive and dangerous as the physical effects, because nothing is so hard to recover, once it is lost, as faith. In the adherence of the world conscience to moral

(Mr. Padilla Nervo, Mexico)

values, there are rises and falls. The curve is a function of the mutual respect, faith and confidence of peoples and governments.

"Who can measure the impact and consequences of the latest Soviet tests on the conscience of the peoples? Can anyone affirm that its disregard of the solemn appeal made by the United Nations General Assembly has won the Soviet Union greater respect, esteem or trust in the hearts and minds of men? The fact that the General Assembly's resolutions have been disregarded does not relieve us of our duty to condemn here, on behalf of our nations, acts of aggression, violations of international moral law, abuses of power or unlawful intervention prejudicial to the tranquility, health and peace of other nations.

"If the nuclear Powers were able to confine the risks and dangers of their nuclear tests within their frontiers, they would be responsible only to their own nationals, who would then be the judges of the acts of their respective governments. But nuclear tests are beyond the national jurisdiction of the Powers that carry them out. They are not subject to domestic jurisdiction; they are international acts which exceed the limits of sovereignty in space and time. They invade another man's house, and injure and torment the inhabitants of other countries.

"If the Security Council could operate without a veto, it would already have discharged the duty of prohibiting nuclear tests such as those made in the atmosphere, which cause damage outside the frontiers of the State carrying them out. The violation of a treaty such as the United Nations Charter cannot be justified on grounds of military balance, national security or self-defence, for our rights extend only to where the rights of others begin."

We deeply regret that a new nuclear contest has begun. World opinion is greatly disturbed by the fact that a new series of tests has been started by the Western Powers, and by the Soviet Union's announcement that further nuclear weapon tests will be carried out.

Mexico has always been in favour of banning such tests for ever, by a treaty with effective guarantees for its strict observance. We regret that the nuclear Powers should explain their decisions, which are contrary to the highest interests

of mankind by throwing the blame on each other. What use is it to the world to allocate the responsibility, if the tests are carried out in any case? What are we to do now? Where are we going? One unlawful act is answered by another, and it seems as though neither side is willing to concede the enemy supremacy in evil. Both sides in turn have explained their attitude by the military balance needed to safeguard the unstable and precarious peace we still enjoy, and have invoked the necessities of national and world security; but the world does not consider that those are valid grounds for justifying what is unjustifiable.

World opinion considers that nuclear explosions, whoever sets them off, are inhuman acts and manifestations of force, not of intelligence or sincerity. In my opinion they do not result from courage, but from mutual fear, which will increase with each series of tests. When, and with what assistance, can the nuclear Powers call a halt? It is essential to find a satisfactory and constructive answer to that question as soon as possible.

There is good reason to fear that each new series of tests will open up new possibilities for research, with further need for testing which can only be satisfied by new series, and so on ad infinitum. The nuclear race is an indescribable burden for the nations, and it increases international tension and the danger of war. The competition in nuclear weapon tests also has other dire collateral effects: it undermines and cracks the most solid pillars of international and private law.

The principles, and the salutary international practices which are the basis of the legal system and the rule of law, and which govern relations between States and between the State and the individual, are changed and weakened to an extent whose future magnitude cannot be measured. It must be recognized that the nuclear competition is a race which leads, not to security or the maintenance of peace, but to negation and nothingness. It is a race in the night, between the abyss and the storm.

The human intelligence and the instinct of self-preservation should be capable of finding some other solution and of preparing the way for the future of peace and progress which mankind deserves. Mexico will continue to work faithfully and untiringly for the success of this Conference, and despite our present doubts and disappointments we believe that we should most earnestly endeavour to induce the nuclear Powers to sign a treaty banning nuclear tests for ever. The greater the obstacles in our way, the greater should be the effort and the vigour we apply to overcoming them. That is the purpose for which we came here, and so long as our task is not completed we must persevere in it.

Mr. BURNS (Canada): The Canadian delegation has listened, of course, with great attention to all that has been said by the speakers this morning. I should like to say how much I was encouraged by the words with which the representative of Mexico ended his statement, when he urged us, in spite of the check which has been administered to our Conference, to determine to persist in the task which has been given us. That is a sentiment which was echoed in the statements of practically everybody who spoke here.

I should like to place on the record, in connexion with the events in the Pacific, a statement which was made by Mr. Diefenbaker, the Prime Minister of Canada. He said:

"In view of the position consistently taken by Canada on the question of nuclear weapon tests, it is a matter of deep regret to the Canadian Government that no solution has been found at Geneva to enable the nuclear Powers to dispense with further testing under reasonable safeguards against the possibility of clandestine evasion of an agreement.

"The Canadian Government has always been concerned not only with hazards to human health but also with the implications of such tests in terms of continuation of the nuclear weapons race and the prospects for disarmament. The new situation makes it even more imperative to persist in the efforts now being made at Geneva to bring about a test ban agreement which could provide for some acceptable international system of verification. The proposals put forward by the eight non-aligned members of the Disarmament Committee constitute a constructive effort to find a compromise solution. Other ideas may develop with further study. The whole matter is of such consequence to the future of the human race that the search for a solution must be pressed with the utmost determination."

It is the view of the Canadian delegation that the possibilities for compromise which the initiative of the eight non-aligned Powers offers have not yet been fully explored, and we hope that this work will be resumed at an appropriate time by the Sub-Committee of the nuclear Powers and brought to a successful conclusion.

The Canadian delegation also believes, as so many others here have said, that this Conference must redouble its efforts to work out an agreement on general and complete disarmament. This is our primary task. It is this task for which the Committee was constituted and which was endorsed by the United Nations. All Members of the United Nations are hoping that we shall report a real measure of progress to the Disarmament Commission by 1 June.

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

We must not permit the obstacles which have prevented the conclusion to date of a satisfactory nuclear test ban treaty to cause us to relax in our primary responsibility of negotiating an agreement on general and complete disarmament. I think, as I said before, the views expressed by so many of the delegations here should determine us to continue and to spare no effort to reach a successful agreement as early as possible, on as many points as we can, on the subject matter that lies before us.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): Since no other member wishes to speak at this time, I shall recognize the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

Mr. DEAN (United States of America): On behalf of the United States, I would like to say that we fully understand the very deep and serious motivations which have prompted the new members of the Conference to protest against the resumption yesterday of atmospheric testing by the United States. We understand and we are in sympathy with these motivations.

Unlike the representative of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the Eastern European countries at this Conference, the eight new members, and indeed the other non-nuclear Powers, have a full moral right to express their anxiety and concern about nuclear testing, no matter who conducts it, and their distaste at the fact that the nuclear testing race is continuing. My delegation always listens to their views with the greatest respect; and this morning we listened with special interest to the eloquent statements which they made here.

We must point out, as I am sure these countries themselves know, that this action was taken by the United States only after the most prayerful weighing of all the considerations which must be taken into account by those who bear the ultimate responsibility for the safety and security of the United States and of those who, in free association, work with the United States. As I have already said at this meeting, this action was taken by my Government with the deepest regret.

It is necessary to see the two simple essentials which have led us to take this action. The first was the resumption of nuclear tests by the Soviet Union last autumn, when the Soviet Union broke its solemn word on a matter whose importance has seldom been equalled in history. The second was the repeated and

unequivocally expressed unwillingness of the Soviet Union to accept any true international control in an agreement to end tests, despite the approval of the general theory of such an agreement by its own outstanding scientists.

We believe that we have made every imaginative effort to meet all the points of substance raised by the Soviet Union in these negotiations. We have done our best to understand the point of view of the Soviet Union. Faced with these two simple facts, the United States, as everyone here will realize, had no alternative but to take the action which it believed to be absolutely necessary for the preservation not only of its own security but of the security of the free world.

We submit that no responsible government could possibly allow a situation to continue which would permit another country one which, much to our regret, has avowed hostility to the ideals and safety of the United States Government -- by a further betrayal of its own word to secure a military advantage which could upset the present precarious balance in the world.

Let me be very clear. The United States will end its testing as soon as an agreement with effective international controls and objective on-site inspection can be concluded. We shall continue to exert all our efforts at this Conference to work out such an effective nuclear test ban agreement. We are quite prepared to listen to any ideas and suggestions on that subject, including, in particular, the joint memorandum submitted by the eight non-aligned nations. We are also prepared to exert every effort, as the representatives of Mexico and Canada, among others, have said we should be, to work out an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

I do not wish at this rather solemn moment to engage in polemics with my Soviet colleague. According to the text that I have, Mr. Lincoln White, the spokesman for the State Department, made the following statement yesterday in Washington:

"The United States will continue to press for an effective and workable nuclear weapon test ban treaty at Geneva, despite the reluctant decision to resume atmospheric testing in the Pacific. If such an agreement is signed, the United States will, of course, halt its tests."

Then, in response to an inquiry by a newsman present at the Press conference, the following was stated:

"The United States has made clear, Mr. White emphasized: we have had our experience with an uninspected moratorium, and that experience has not been very pleasant."

(Mr. Dean, United States)

As members of the Conference know, we had originally planned to hold a meeting of the Committee of the Whole this morning, at the invitation of the other co-Chairman, to which I was very happy to agree. Mr. Zorin and I spent several hours yesterday afternoon in an endeavour to move forward the work of the Conference, and particularly the selection of the next agenda item or items for consideration in the Committee of the Whole. In fact, we have had two additional meetings since we last reported on this question. As my colleagues will recall, the United States proposed that the Committee of the Whole consider three measures, each of which we believe is important in itself. Agreement on these measures would facilitate progress towards our goal of general and complete disarmament. These three measures are: (1) the cessation of the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes; (2) the prohibition of the placement of weapons of mass destruction into orbit -- which is, as members will recall, a matter in which Mr. Green, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, was very much interested; and (3) measures to reduce the risk of war by accident, miscalculation, failure of communications or surprise attack.

In the discussions between the two co-Chairmen, which, let me assure members, were completely orderly and aimable, our delegation displayed a completely open mind on the order of priority in which these items should be discussed, along with the other items which have been or may be proposed by any of the other delegations. So far, however, my Soviet colleague has refused to recommend any of the three measures to the Committee of the Whole as the next item of its agenda. I regret this but will not dwell on it.

You will remember that the United States delegation agreed with the Soviet delegation to discuss as the first item on the agenda a subject selected from the list proposed by the Soviet Union. As I said at our twenty-second plenary meeting, while we did not believe that the cessation of war propaganda was the most important item, nevertheless, to enable the Committee of the Whole to begin its work we agreed to place that item on our agenda as the first item for discussion. At the same time, we ventured to hope that our Soviet colleagues would display a reasonable attitude in selecting further items for discussion, and that they would be willing to draw the next item from our list of topics. So far, however, we have not been able to get agreement on this.



(Mr. Dean, United States)

One reason why we chose the item on surprise attack as the next item for our agenda was that it was on the list of 26 September 1961 which Foreign Secretary Gromyko submitted to the United Nations. We thought that this subject would be agreeable to our Soviet colleagues because one of the proposals of the United States in this area provides for the establishment of observation posts at locations such as major ports, railway centres, motor highways and air bases. In this it resembles very closely the measures suggested in the Soviet memorandum of 26 September, which also provides for the establishment of such posts. However, my Soviet colleague replied that it was not useful to discuss this subject because, in his view, there was no prospect of agreement on it. In spite of our efforts to elicit from Mr. Zorin specific reasons as to why he believed this, we have so far not been able to get any substantive clarification on this point.

Let me call the attention of my colleagues to the fact that in the memorandum of 26 September on this subject of surprise attack, it is stated that:

"... it would be possible forthwith to take a number of steps the execution of which would further the cause of peace",

and that the Soviet Government is:

"of the opinion that the establishment of such land control posts might constitute an effective means of lessening the danger of surprise attack",

and that:

"these measures take the security interests of the two sides equally into account." (ENDC/14. pages 8 and 9)

While my delegation would of course wish to discuss and to reach agreement on the widest possible area of action that could be taken to reduce the risk of war by accident, miscalculation, failure of communications or surprise attack, we believe that an even more limited agreement would provide a useful beginning, and we had hoped that this would be welcomed by all members of the Committee. It seems to us that it ought to be possible to reach immediate agreement on the specific step to which I have just referred, and that agreement even on a measure of such limited scope in this area would be a very important step in our efforts to lessen tensions, to increase confidence and thus to create a better atmosphere not only all over the world but here at this Conference in our progress towards general and complete disarmament.

(Mr. Dean, United States)

Mr. Zorin has already referred to the difficulties which arose in 1958 when the problem of surprise attack was the subject of a special conference here in Geneva. While we have in the past proposed more extensive arrangements to improve warning against surprise attack, we have now taken into account the Soviet objections to such extensive arrangements and we now propose a much more limited system in the hope of making at least some initial progress.

Also, one of the difficulties we encountered here at the Conference of 1958 was Soviet insistence on discussing the political aspects of the problem in what at that time we considered to be a purely technical conference. That difficulty, of course, no longer exists, since the Conference in which we are currently engaged is a political conference.

Mr. Zorin appears to desire in particular that the non-transfer of nuclear weapons be the next agenda item of the Committee of the Whole. While Mr. Zorin does not appear to want to discuss the nuclear cut-off or outer space because these questions appear specifically in the disarmament programmes now under consideration in plenary meetings, nevertheless he advances what seems to me at least to be a somewhat curious argument -- that the item on the non-transfer of nuclear weapons should be taken up in the Committee of the Whole rather than in the plenary Conference because it appears in both our plans. My delegation has proposed that this matter of non-transfer be discussed at an early date in the plenary Conference, where we now are engaged in the consideration of first-stage measures, of which this is one. That item of non-transfer appears in our plan in stage I, paragraph "C", sub-paragraph 4 (ENDC/30). We believe that this measure could most profitably be discussed in the context of the series of related measures for the containment and reduction of the nuclear threat, which we will soon be discussing in plenary Conference. We are ready to discuss this matter at a very early date in that context.

In an effort to reach agreement we said, let us take up the item of surprise attack, and at the same time agree that the next item should be the subject of nuclear-free zones, which is on the Soviet list and has been advanced here by the representative of Poland. Again we thought that such an understanding would clear the way for the further work of our Committee and would enable us to agree. When this was not acceptable we said, let us discuss the question of surprise attack and nuclear-free zones at the same time; under such an arrangement any representative could speak on either or both of them at the same time. I am very sure that we are going to solve this question, and I do not believe we are in the kind of impasse to which the representative of Czechoslovakia referred this morning.

(Mr. Dean, United States)

In view of the lateness of the hour I shall not go on. We shall ask to have circulated as a Conference document a proposal which we have tried to work out with our Soviet colleague on the question of the cessation of war propaganda. In that document we deprecate the fact that people say that war is inevitable. If I understood the interpretation this morning, Mr. Zorin was quoted as saying that the United States Government was advocating the idea that war is inevitable, but when our draft document is seen it will show that we say precisely the contrary.

In view of the importance of our other discussion this morning, I hesitated to take up the time of the Conference with these details of the agenda of the Committee of the Whole, but I did not want the members of the Conference to leave this morning with the feeling that we are in quite such an impasse as I believe might be supposed from the statements of our Soviet and Czechoslovak colleagues.

Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): I very much regret that at this late hour I am compelled to say a few words in connexion with the statements we have just heard. First of all I must express my surprise at the fact that the United States representative attempted to divert the attention of the whole Conference from the question which, with his agreement, was accepted as the main topic at today's meeting, and tried to state his position on a number of other questions which will be the subject of our discussion at our next meeting.

If there are no objections, we can fix a meeting for tomorrow, that is a meeting of the Committee of the Whole, where everyone will be able to state his views and the Soviet delegation will explain its position on this question quite fully and will show that the position which the United States representative tried to defend is altogether unacceptable. I do not wish the Committee's attention to be diverted to the controversies on this question, since I believe it was not by accident that Mr. Dean tried to divert our attention in precisely that direction, because the United States representative has not got much to say about the question which we have been discussing this morning and on which the attention of world public opinion is now focussed. That is why in the greater part of his statement he spoke about other matters, which will be discussed separately.

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

The results of the discussion of the question which is now of concern to all peoples and States show that in this Conference there is almost unanimous condemnation of this new aggressive act of the United States. Almost all the statements that have been made expressed condemnation and regret in regard to the policy that is now being carried out by the United States Government, with the support of the United Kingdom Government, in respect of the resumption of nuclear weapon tests.

The great majority of those who spoke this morning not only condemned this action of the United States but stated clearly that there was no justification for this resumption of testing. I say "almost unanimously", because there were only two speakers who tried to find a justification. They were the allies of the United States who meekly follow its lead in this question. They were the representative of Italy, who attempted to justify this action by the United States, and the representative of the United Kingdom, who is an accomplice in this action. That, of course, is quite in order, but we find no justification for such an attitude, especially on the part of the Government of a great country, whose people are actively and with ever increasing indignation opposing the policy of resuming and intensifying the nuclear arms race.

One might say that in the statement of the United Kingdom representative there was an isolated attempt to reject responsibility and to ascribe it to others. That attempt failed to receive the support of the members of the Eighteen Nation Committee. It proved to be an isolated attempt. What the United Kingdom representative said here regarding the alleged responsibility of the Soviet Union for this aggressive act of the United States Government can only cause amazement, because the United States Government and the United Kingdom Government themselves have repeatedly declared that they are against the resumption of nuclear weapon tests. Furthermore, they have spoken here about the General Assembly resolutions and referred to them.

I must say that the Government of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the Soviet Union at the General Assembly openly and honestly stated their position and the reasons which had led the Soviet Government to a decision regarding the need to carry out a series of tests last autumn in a situation of intensified military preparations by the Western Powers and their threat to use nuclear weapons in connexion with the Soviet Government's intention to prepare for the signing of a peace treaty with Germany.

We stated our position openly and clearly. We did not play the hypocrite at the General Assembly. We did not vote for those resolutions which were put forward on this occasion. At the same session of the General Assembly, however, the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom voted for the resolutions calling for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and for abstention from testing while negotiations were going on.

We did not vote for those resolutions. But you voted for them.

Why then are you now playing the hypocrite before the whole world and declaring that you have a moral right to criticize us and that we have no moral right to criticize you? Oh no, that won't do! You are playing the hypocrite before the whole world. You vote hypocritically for the resolutions calling for the cessation of tests and for abstention from testing while negotiations are going on, and here in this Committee when the non-aligned countries propose that you should wait a while before resuming tests, you take not the slightest notice of them. And after that, you say that you treat with sympathy and understanding what the representatives of the non-aligned States have said here.

What is the use of your listening with understanding and respect to what they say here, when you do the opposite? You are doing the opposite to what they say. So what is the value of your sympathy and respect for their statements? You have not taken their statements into consideration. You have trampled on their statements and on their proposal which was submitted with the sincere purpose of checking the possibility of a resumption of testing and providing an opportunity for concluding an agreement. In response to this appeal of the non-aligned countries the Soviet Government declared its readiness to reach an agreement on this compromise basis.

What did you do? You in fact rejected this proposal. You in fact refused to conduct negotiations on this basis.

The Soviet Government was right when it said in its statement of 19 April: "The next few days must show the main events are to take --- whether towards an agreement to end nuclear weapon tests or towards further nuclear tests in the atmosphere" (ENDC/32, page 5).

This depended solely on the Government of the United States and its allies. Because the Soviet Government was prepared to sign immediately an agreement on a compromise basis.

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

"The Western Powers", said the Soviet Government, "now have an opportunity to demonstrate in practice that they will not obstruct the settlement of the urgent problem of ending tests. The peoples of the world will never forgive them if this opportunity is missed" (ENDC/32, page 5).

The opportunity has now been missed. The peoples of the world will never forgive you for this, however much you may talk about your moral right to act in this way, because the Soviet Union acted in a certain way last autumn. You spoke about our having no moral right to criticize you. I have already shown that with regard to the General Assembly resolutions you have no moral right to defend your attitude, because you acted hypocritically, you voted for the resolutions and are now acting against the basic decisions of these resolutions.

But I say furthermore that it was not we who started testing nuclear weapons; it was you who started testing nuclear weapons. It was not we who dropped bombs on Hiroshima; it was you who dropped bombs on Hiroshima. It was not we who broke the moratorium; it was broken by your ally, France. It kept on breaking the moratorium during the whole course of the Geneva negotiations. How can you tell us now that we have no moral right to condemn your aggressive actions? No, we do have the moral and political right, because over a long period of history the Soviet Union has carried on a struggle for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, and for nearly ten years demanded the starting of negotiations and the conclusion of an agreement on this question.

It was the United States and the United Kingdom who firmly opposed this, and devised all sorts of technical pretexts for not starting negotiations and for evading an agreement. In 1958 when, after a technical conference, you were literally dragged by the collar into these negotiations, you jibbed for three years and evaded an agreement on the discontinuance of all tests. Towards the end of 1958 and early in 1959 you put forward your new technical difficulties on the question of underground tests. Why? Because you were preparing for underground tests and you did not want to stop them. All the world knows this. Then why are you now trying to make out that you are saints? No, you are far from being saints. You are acting in the interests of those militaristic and industrial groups that are interested in the continuation of the arms race and in the further aggravation of the international situation. That is the gist of the matter. Without the aggravation of the international situation your entire military alliance will collapse.

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

That is why you are continuing your efforts to strengthen your military forces, your military alliance, under the false pretext of fearing the alleged danger of an attack by the Soviet Union. In your very midst there are now people who have the courage to say that this policy will not lead to any good. I must point out that at today's meeting we heard the voice of one of your allies who was unable to justify your position in regard to the resumption of tests. What was said this morning by the representative of Canada shows that even among you there are people who realize the perniciousness of this policy. You have no grounds for saying that the whole affair hinges on the Soviet Union, its policy and positions. No, the great majority of those present here today have condemned you.

The voice of the United Kingdom representative is the isolated voice of the ally who follows his senior ally and is unwilling to say a single word against him. You are bound by your military alliance and you follow your senior ally as on a leash. That is the situation. It is not only we who realize this; it is also realized in the United Kingdom itself. Therefore when you say now that you are prepared to bring about the cessation of nuclear weapon tests and that you are striving for an agreement on general and complete disarmament, we tell you frankly that we do not believe you. I should like to remind you of some passages in the message addressed by Mr. Khrushchev to Mr. Macmillan, which I read out in full some time ago; these words have been fully justified by recent events. Mr. Khrushchev wrote on 12 April:

"In sending you this message, I am wondering what your reaction will be. Will you accept our proposals? I will say quite frankly that I have no such hope, because I do not believe in the wisdom of the circles which now determine the policy of the Western Powers" (ENDC/27, page 11).

This has been fully justified by the latest action of the Government of the United States, supported by the Government of the United Kingdom. But Mr. Khrushchev went on to say the following:

"But this does not mean that we will relax our efforts in the struggle for general and complete disarmament. No, we shall continue the struggle yet further. In the end the peoples will understand and will call, to power parties which really reflect the interests of the people, who are concerned with ensuring a lasting peace and retaining the fruits of their labour which are now being swallowed up by the armaments race.

(Mr. Zorin, USSR)

But time and patience are needed for this. Patience we have, and so far as time is concerned, we shall try to accelerate its passing" (ibid).

And, as you know, Mr. Khrushchev ended his message with the words which I have already quoted in my first statement this morning:

"We shall not fold our arms and wait passively; we shall bend all our efforts towards unmasking the aggressors, unmasking the people who are playing at war and juggling with the fate of the peoples" (ibid.).

We shall also do this here in the Committee, however disagreeable it may be to our partners.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): Since no other representative wishes to speak today, we come to the question of the next meeting. I believe that, in accordance with the understanding reached by our two co-Chairmen, the next meeting of the Committee of the Whole is to be held on Friday, 27 April 1962, at 10 a.m.

The final question is when the next plenary meeting should be held. Perhaps, Monday, 30 April, at 10 a.m. would be suitable.

Mr. DEAN (United States of America): It is quite agreeable to me to have a plenary meeting on Monday, 30 April, but I did think, as the result of an informal agreement with our Soviet colleague, that the plenary Conference was not going to meet on Monday and Tuesday of next week. If he wishes to meet, however, it is quite agreeable to me. I leave it entirely to my Soviet colleague.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): Since Tuesday is 1 May, perhaps we should not meet on that day but on Wednesday, 2 May, at 10 a.m.

Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): If it is acceptable to everyone, I have no objection.

The CHAIRMAN (Sweden): If it is acceptable to the whole Committee, the next meeting of the Conference will be held on Wednesday, 2 May 1962, at 10 a.m.

It was so decided.



The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 28th meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the Chairmanship of H.E. Mrs. Myrdal, Ambassador and Representative of Sweden.

The Representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, Brazil, the United Arab Republic, Bulgaria, Burma, Poland, Ethiopia, Romania, Italy, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, India, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Canada, made statements.

The next meeting of the Committee of the Whole will be held on Friday, 27 April 1962, at 10 a.m.

The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Wednesday, 2 May, at 10 a.m.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

